1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

X.—GOVERNMENT.

I.—NATURE OF GOVERNMENT.—VARIOUS OFFICERS.

THE government of Ladák was formerly a mild despotism under a ruler who bore the title of Gyalpo.* The conduct of affairs was generally intrusted to the prime minister, or *Kahlon;* and the king was well satisfied both with his minister and with his subjects, if the former gave him sufficient means† for the enjoyment of his royal pleasure, and if the latter never disturbed his quiet ease with their complaints. The king literally did nothing, except when roused to exertion by some unusual occurrence. His subjects could behold his royal presence only by the presentation of an offering in money, according to their circumstances. But this was a costly pleasure; and the mental abstraction of the Buddhist prince was rarely disturbed by the curiosity, or loyal zeal, of his people. Occasionally an ambitious prince would arise, who (like Singhé Namgyal) retained the whole power in his own hands.

[642] 643 ● 645 175 643 175

* The ruler was usually called *rGyal-po*, or the emperor; and the queen was called *rGyal-mo*, or the empress. In writing more formality was used, and the ruler was either entitled *rGyal-po-chen-po*, "the great emperor," or he was designated by his own name *Singgé-rNam-rGyal*, "King Singge."

† The prime minister was always the Gyalpo's treasurer, or keeper of the privy purse.

1; Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

651 Each house, therefore, paid a mean rate of two rupees per annum; but, partly from various remissions of taxes, and partly from the inability of the poorer classes to pay, excepting by bodily service, the total amount of house-tax rarely exceeded Rs. 30,000.

793 644 But besides the 18,000 paying houses, there were about 4,000 houses alienated for the support of the numerous monasteries, and about 1,000 for the maintenance of the queen and the various members of the 643 royal family. The Gyalpo also had his own villages, which contained about 1,000 houses more. The whole number of dwellings in Ladák was therefore about 24,000.

651 Under the Dogra rule, although the number of inhabited dwellings has diminished, yet the number of paying houses is still about the same, as all the crown villages have been appropriated by the government. The assessment is, however, different, as a much greater number of houses have been taxed at the higher rates. I could not obtain any precise information as to the number of houses included under each rate; but as the gross amount of collections was generally estimated at nearly Rs. 50,000, the following scale must be a close approximation to the truth. The mean rate is two and a half rupees per house.

1,000 houses of large size			at Rs. 7	each	=	Rs. 7,000
5,000	„	middle	„	3½ „	=	17,500
12,000	„	small	„	1¾ „	=	21,000
18,000 houses paying						Rs. 45,500

There were besides two other sources of income which contributed to swell the revenue of the state; namely, a tax on the brokers who transacted all commercial affairs between the different merchants both home and foreign;

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and the annual amount of presents received from the various *Kahlons*, *Lonpas*, *Kharpons*, and other officers of government. The former generally amounted to nearly thirty-five *kúrús* of silver, which, at Rs. 166 per *kúrú*, are equal to Rs. 5,700.* The value of the presents was usually about Rs. 5,000.

The gross revenue of Ladák, collected from all sources under its native rulers, was as follows:

House-tax	Rs. 30,000
Customs	18,000
Tax on brokers	5,700
Presents or fees	5,000
	Rs. 58,700

to which must be added,—first, the amount alienated for the support of monasteries, or about Rs. 8,000, valuing each of the 4,000 houses at the average rate of two rupees each: secondly, the amount derived from the crown villages of about 2,000 houses, equal to Rs. 4,000 more, or in all to Rs. 12,000. The total revenue was, therefore, Rs. 71,700, or about £7,000 sterling.

Out of the gross collections made for government, one-half of the customs, and one-half of the tax on brokers, were the perquisites, or salary, of the *Kahlon*, or prime minister. The net amount received by the *Gyalpo* was therefore just so much less than the above Rs. 58,700, or only Rs. 46,850; this, with the produce of the crown lands, amounted to nearly Rs. 49,000. But his actual income was nearly double this amount, for he was the chief trader in his own dominions; and as all his traffic passed duty free through Ladák, he always realized between forty and fifty thousand rupees a year. His

* *Kurs* is the Yarkandi name for the "ingot" of silver, which the Tibetans call *Yam-bu*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

643 average income from all sources thus amounted to about one lac of rupees, or nearly £10,000 per annum. In addition to his regular income, both public and private, the Gyalpo enjoyed the royal prerogative of drawing his food from those districts, which, possessing no chiefs of their own, were immediately dependent on the supreme government. He was supplied with corn and butter, wood and grass, for four months in the year, by Nubra; for two months by Rukchu; and for four months by Tangtse. Certain villages also supplied the royal table with apricots, apples, and grapes.

647 The various charges defrayed by the state were few in number, and small in amount, as all the principal public officers had the privilege of trading duty free, while the inferior servants of government enjoyed various perquisites which were equivalent to salaries. The paid officers of the state were the *Lonpo*, or governor; [693] the *Shakspon*, or lord chief justice; and the different *Khrimpons*, or magistrates of Lé; besides the *Káká Tádsi*, or master of the horse, and the *Chagdsot*, or lord high treasurer. I could not ascertain the amount of their individual salaries, but the gross amount of civil charges was estimated at Rs. 20,000, or £2,000 per annum, and which I believe to be near the truth. The 701 military charges were nothing, as each family or house was obliged to furnish one soldier whenever called upon to do so, and to feed him during his term of service.

651 Under the present rule of Mahárája Guláb Sing, the revenue of Ladák may be estimated as follows:-

Tax on houses	Rs. 45,500
Customs	18,000
Tax on brokers	5,700
Presents or fees	5,000
Monasteries	6,300
	Rs. 80,500

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

159 the maharaja's service, in the governorship of Ladák
634 Proper, of which the capital is Lé. His personal salary is only Rs. 500 a month, but he is permitted to trade on his own account to a limited extent; and his profits, together with the presents which he receives from merchants and others, amount to a very handsome income,
[439] which was estimated vaguely at Rs. 20,000 a year. But
[643] the maharaja himself is the chief trader in his own dominions, more particularly in the two staple articles, the export of saffron, and the import of wool. I have therefore strong doubts whether Basti Rám can realize more than ten or twelve thousand rupees yearly. But even this sum, when added to his personal salary, will yield him a respectable income of Rs. 18,000, or nearly £1,800 a year.

634 There are five thanadars, who are placed in the following districts, over which they exercise military command as well as civil authority. 1. Ladák; 2. Zanskar; 3. Kargyil; 4. Drás; 5. Nubra. The salaries of these officers, at the average rate of about Rs. 300 a month, amount to Rs. 18,000 per annum.

701 The number of troops garrisoned in Ladák was variously stated to me by different individuals at from 600 to 800 men; of whom about 200 are stationed at Lé, and in different parts of the district of Ladák Proper. The others are divided among the remaining districts. At Lé also there are thirty artillerymen with a battery of four guns.

701 The military expenses were estimated at between
652 thirty and forty thousand rupees a year; and as the pay of the soldier is nominally five rupees a month, this sum (Rs. 36,000) would support a force of 600 men. But the men do not receive more than two or three rupees in

: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

cash, the remainder being made up to them by "billets" for food wherever they may be quartered. The cost of each soldier to the state was therefore generally estimated by the people at only four rupees a month. At this rate a body of 700 men could be supported for Rs. 33,600, which would be increased to Rs. 35,000 or Rs. 36,000 by the pay of the petty officers.

The whole expenses of the government, both civil and military, therefore, amounted to between Rs. 50,000 and Rs. 60,000; thus leaving a surplus of about Rs. 25,000 for transmission to the maharaja. This surplus was not however remitted in cash, but in goods, which consisted chiefly of wool from Chang-thang, and of cloths and tea from Yarkand.

V.—MILITARY RESOURCES.

In Ladák there was no regular army; but every family or house throughout the country was obliged to furnish one ready-armed soldier at the call of the government. The *Kahlons*, *Lonpos*, and *Gobas*, also furnished quotas of from ten to four men each. At the last general mustering in 1834, the number of armed peasants, collected to oppose Zoráwar Sing, amounted to 22,000. The same number is said to have been collected when the *Gyalpo* was at war with Ahmed Shah of Balti. Indeed it is scarcely possible that a greater number of "armed" men could have been collected, as each house throughout Ladák possessed only one weapon, and the number of houses was not more than 24,000. I have every reason to believe in the correctness of these numbers, as my information was derived from various sources; from Jemadar Basti Rám, and other officers of

1: Cunningham G-S (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

well-dressed artillerymen. Altogether I was as much pleased with the orderly appearance, as with the judicious situation, of this fort.

The new fort of *Kargyil* is situated on the left bank of the Suru river, immediately above the junction of the *Waká-chu*. It is a square of about sixty yards, with round towers at the angles, and a square tower with a small outwork in the middle of the river-front. This work forms a difficult entrance, and at the same time insures a supply of water. The walls are loopholed throughout, and the garrison can sweep the bridge over the Suru river with deadly effect. The position was admirably chosen, as it completely commands the high-road to and from Kashmir.

The new fort of Drás is similar to those of Lé and Kargyil. It is situated on the left bank of the Drás river, and commands the passage of the valley.

The bridge-head of Khallach is on the right bank of the Indus. It consists of a square loopholed tower, built of large sun-dried bricks, with an inclosure surrounded by a high loopholed wall. The garrison of twelve men is furnished from Lé, and is relieved every three months. This work completely commands all approach to the bridge on each bank of the river.

In my opinion, the measures which the maharaja has taken for the maintenance of his power in Ladák are judicious and effective. Many people grumble; but the dissatisfaction is principally confined to the upper classes, who have lost all their power; and to the Kashmiri Mahomedans, a despicable race, who are ever wishing for change, and who, if they were under the British to-morrow, would long for the Chinese on the next day. To the lower classes the change of govern-

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

ment has in some respects been a very decided benefit; for although they may now pay *directly* a larger amount than formerly to the state, yet indirectly they pay a less sum, as there is now only *one* duty throughout the country, in place of the numerous charges which were formerly exacted by all the district *Kahlons* and petty *Gyalpos*. They have also the advantage of excellent roads, which is a benefit duly appreciated by a people whose principal means of livelihood are derived from the transport of merchandise. For these good roads, as well as for the almost complete extinction of theft, the Ladákis are indebted to the active zeal of Zoráwar Sing and his successors. Such are some of the advantages which have resulted from the conquest of the country by an energetic people.

VI.—POSTAL ESTABLISHMENT.

The postal arrangements throughout Ladák are simple and effective; but the transmission is generally slow. The *Goba* of each village is bound to furnish a courier to carry the post from his own to the next village on the road. Along the high-roads the couriers are all horsemen, *Tázampa*,* and the post is carried at the rate of from twenty to thirty-five miles a day. The former is the usual rate; the latter is the express rate when any government business is urgent. Thus letters sent from Kashmir usually reach Lé, a distance of 220 miles, in ten days; but when the despatch is urgent, it generally reaches in six days.

All officers of government make use of the village couriers for the conveyance of orders or intelligence;

* *rTa-zam-pa*, "horse-bridge."

1; Cunningham G-S (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

175 of future assistance to the Balti prince. After a time
643 the prince returned to his father; but the reconciliation
645 could not have been very cordial, for early in 1840 the prince fled to Lé, and sought refuge with the Gyalpo, whom he believed to be a puppet of the Dogra chief. The real authority was not, however, in the Gyalpo's hands, but in those of his two ministers, the Káhlon of Banka and the Káhlon of Bazgo; and as they were anxious to have Ahmed Shah on their side during their intended outbreak against the Dogra authority, they suggested to him the propriety of sending a party to seize his son, to which no resistance would be offered. Ahmed Shah at once agreed to this proposal, and a small party of fifty men was allowed to carry off the Balti prince to Lé.

III.—CONQUEST OF BÁLTI.

175 When Zoráwar Sing arrived in Zanskar and heard of
727 the flight of Muhammed Shah, he sent strict orders that the prince should be treated with kindness and respect, intending, perhaps, to use him as a tool for the furtherance of his master's view upon Balti. But shortly after, when he heard of the prince's seizure by a party of Balti troops, he determined at once upon the conquest and
175 annexation of that principality. A letter was, however, first addressed to Ahmed Shah, informing him that his son, who had sought the Maharaja's protection, had been forcibly carried off by a party who had invaded the Ladák territory, and that, unless the prince was sent back again, the Dogra troops would enter Balti and force his release. To this letter Ahmed Shah deigned no reply.

796 527 FESTIVAL--tooschhen or dooschhen, or zhákzáng a public holiday or festival; geywa or stonmo festivals in remembrance of the dead; stanmo a fair. The Ladákis are very fond of fairs and festivals, as these afford opportunities for much merriment and chhang drinking, to both of which the Ladákis are much addicted. The principal festivals are as follows:--Dosmóchey, Lósir, SHoophla, Rgustor, Heymis-TsheySHoo, Guroo-TsheySHoo, and MaSHo-NaGHrang.

796 The "Dosmóchey" is the religious or Lámáistic "New Year's day" festival. It falls on the 1st day of the 1st month of the Tibetan year (corresponding to about 15th January), and is kept up for five days. At Leh, this festival is observed just [643] as in the old days of the Ladák Rajas. The ex-Raja assumes royal dignities, and lives in the palace, at the head of the Leh bazar. He is surrounded by Lamas, sowars, singers and dancers, as well as by all the leading men of the country, and the 5 days are passed in praying, feasting, dancing, singing and horse-racing.

796 174 The Lósir, as shown by the name, is the real national "New Year's day." It was probably observed in days prior to the introduction of Buddhism into Ladák. It is looked on with disfavour by the Lamas. It is celebrated in Ladák on 28th, 29th, 30th of the 10th month, and on 1st and 2nd of the 11th month (corresponding to about 15th December). No one quite knows how it happens that the New Year's Day comes a month before the end of the year; some explain it by saying a mistake has occurred in the calendar calculations; others think that the Lamas, when they instituted their Dosmóchey, or religious New Year's Day, altered the date of the Lósir, so that the two festivals might not fall together; and another explanation is that in olden times a great defeat was suffered by the Ladák king, at the hands of Lhasa soldiers, on the 1st day, of the 1st month, and that for that reason, that day was regarded as unlucky, and the "Lósir" was fixed for the time at which it is [44] now [171] held. There is a curious similarity between the European and Tibetan customs, in connection with this period of the year, i.e., the end of the old year (including Christmas day) and the commencement of the new year.

796 592 On the 1st night of the "Lósir," Ladákis illuminate their houses, offer up sacrifices, and decorate their doorways and houses with boughs of the evergreen juniper. The father or eldest

brother, whichever of them is in possession of the family property, (see under heading "Entail") must at this season invite all members of the family to assemble at his house for a five days' jollification. For dinner he must give them a pudding, just as we give a Christmas plum-pudding, and when this pudding is put on the table a hole is made in the centre, and into it butter is poured. 796 592

I am told by Dr. Marx of the Moravian Mission, to whom I am indebted for the above account, that this exactly corresponds with the custom still prevailing in Sweden, where butter or oil is poured into the Christmas plum-pudding. 171 796

In England we stick a sprig of holly into the pudding, but the idea is the same--the holly, being an ever green, is symbolical of life, while butter or oil is closely connected with the idea of light which again is closely connected with the idea of life.

During the "Lósir" the Ex-Raja of Ladák is allowed to assume regal dignities, as during the "Dosmóchey." The five days are spent in feasting, dancing, horse-racing and all kinds of merriment. 796 [243]

The "SHoophia" is a kind of harvest festival in honor of the "hla" or "goddess" of the "SHoops" or "ears of corn." It falls about the 7th of August, when the crops are just beginning to ripen. It is celebrated in every village. [241]

The "tsheySHoo" festival is observed in memory of a religious celebrity named "Oorjian Padma Jungnas" who lived in the early days of Tibetan Buddhism. It ought to be kept on the 10th day of every month, but as a "festival" it is as a matter of fact, observed by the people of the country, only once a year, when a great festival takes place at Heymis, the chief monastery of Ladák. This festival which is called the "Heymis TsheySHoo" falls on the 10th day of the 5th month, corresponding to about 7th of June. On the 2nd day of the festival the Heymis monastery is crowded with people who have come from all parts of Ladák, Zangskár, and Changtháng to witness the "devils" dance" performed by Lamas belonging to the Heymis monastery. The dancing of the monks though weird is rather stupid, but their masks are grotesque and their richly embroidered Chinese silk dresses are extremely handsome. 796 536

The Ladákis explain the object of the "devils' dance" by saying

175 the territory ceded to the British by the Sikhs, under Article IV
648 of the Treaty of the 9th of March 1846. Immediately after the
631 conclusion of this treaty, the British Government arranged to sell the whole of the territory ceded by the Sikhs, to Raja Gulab Singh of Jamoo, for a crore of rupees (Rs. 10,000,000), but as it was, on reconsideration of the question, deemed inexpedient to make over the whole of the territories in question, a treaty was concluded with Raja Gulab Singh, on 16th March 1846, the result of which was that Spiti and Lâhaul remained British territory, and that Raja Gulab Singh paid the British Government only three quarters of a crore instead of a full crore of rupees.

●643 Ladâk is now governed by a Wazir assisted by a Naib (or Deputy)
701 Wazir. The garrison of the country consists of about 50 Regular soldiers, 50 Irregular soldiers, and some 70 Ladâki soldiers.
712 There are forts at Khalsi, and Leh, the former is held by a guard of 6 or 8 men the remainder of the troops being in garrison at Leh. There used to be a fort at Shushot, but it has recently been pulled down as it was found to be of no use. The revenue of the country amounts to about Rs. 64,000 a year, and the expenditure to about Rs. 32,000.

131 Considered by itself, Ladâk is a poor and insignificant country, but, politically speaking, it is of some importance, as its frontiers are conterminous, on the north, with those of the Chinese, and
439 on the east, with those of the Lhâsa Government. From a commercial point of view it is also a place of some importance, as a considerable portion of the trade between India and Central Asia passes through it. During the past three years the value of this trade has averaged about 15 lakhs Rs. (15,00,000) a year.

A few merchants carry on a "through" trade, between India and Turkistan, but the mass of the trade is carried on between Indians and Kashmiris who come up as far as Leh only, and there exchange their goods for the products [79] of Central Asia, brought down by merchants, who do not go further south than Leh. This trade is most beneficial to Ladâk, for as it is a long and hard journey from Leh to Yarkhand, or even from Leh to India, merchants, on reaching Leh, are glad to rest themselves and their baggage ponies (camels are not used) for a month, or even two months, before attempting the return journey. The
443 result is that during the months of August, September and October the country people reap a small harvest by supplying

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of Láhaul. They are mendicant minstrels, the men playing the pipes and kettle-drums, while the women dance, sing and play the tambourine. They sometimes engage in trade, but only in a small way by barter; and the saying *Hensi ka saudá* implies that a transaction is mean and paltry. They *never* own land, and "the Beda no land, the dog no load" is a proverbial saying. They are considered low and disreputable; and other classes will not eat food together with or cooked by them. In 1868, of the men who returned themselves as Kanets, 382 were *lámás* or monks attached to the five monasteries. Of the women only about ten are nuns, and they do not spend the winter in the monasteries like the nuns of Láhaul, but live at home with their fathers or brothers. Many other women in Spiti live at home unmarried all their lives; others who cannot get married in a legitimate way walk off to Tibet with pedlars or traders, or go to live with some *dotul* or labouring man who takes their fancy. Some of the richer landholders have men-servants living in their houses who are known as *lápas*; they eat from their master's table, are servants of all work, and do not marry, though they often keep company with some unmarried woman of the house or neighbourhood. One or two men-servants are kept in each monastery to light fires, &c., and are called *tárwás* or *togochás*.

Leading families.

The Thákurs are the gentry and quondam rulers of the valley. They are more or less pure Botias or Mongolians by blood, but are beginning, as the natural sequence to the Hindúising tendency already described, to assert a Rájpút origin. Three families of Thákurs retain in modern times a status of importance as *jágírdárs*—that of Hari Chand, *negí* of Láhaul, who holds his village of Kolong, or Todpa, in *jágír*; that of Devi Chand, who holds Ghamrang; and that of Hira Chand, who holds Gondola. The aggregate cash assessment of these *jágírs* is Rs. 975, subject, however, to payments (*nazarána*) aggregating Rs. 250 per annum. Thákur Hari Chand, son of Tára Chand, in virtue of his office as *negí*, receives certain other emoluments. The most important of these are one-fourth the total revenue grazing dues in *khalsa kothís*, and fines in criminal cases.

SECTION D.—VILLAGE COMMUNITIES AND TENURES.

Sub-divisions in Láhaul: Nature of townships and villages.

Láhaul is sub-divided by the people into Rangloi or the Chandra valley, Gárah or Punán, the Bhága valley, and Pattan or the valley of the Chandra Bhága. The first valley contains four *kothís*, the second four, and the third six, making fourteen *kothís* in all. Some of the *kothís* correspond with the boundaries of the existing or extinct *jágírs* or fiefs of the Thákurs or petty barons of Láhaul. The rest are merely groups of villages or hamlets, which have for long past been connected for administration purposes. For instance, *kothí* Ranikí consists of several villages, scattered here and there among those of other *kothís*, which were formerly held in *jágír* by a Kúlu princess, and which have ever since held together as one community under one headman. Nor is the village (as Mr. Barnes says of the hamlet in Kángra) the elementary part of the system in Láhaul;

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

that could dominate the rest. And so monastic Buddhism united social and political groups, isolated from each other, into one common community. That is the essential unity of Ladakh and Tibet today.

One Tibetan king tried in the tenth century to oust the church, but he failed. His name was Langdharma. He is known in lama tradition today as the incarnation of wickedness.

It was not always easy going for the monasteries. In the middle of the sixteenth century Moslems swept down from the northwest; and again about A.D. 1600 they invaded from the west. They destroyed monasteries and threw the libraries into the Indus. The Moslem rule was short-lived. The monasteries shortly regained their position. In the Great Mongol War of 1646–47 the Maharajah of Kashmir, whose troops were in command of the brave Wazir Zorawar, annexed Ladakh to India. About 1834 General Zorawar Singh, acting for the Rajah of Jammu, again conquered Ladakh for India, driving before him into Tibet about nine thousand lamas or three quarters of the monks of the monasteries. Singh moved on to Tibet and in 1841 was defeated by the Chinese, who swept down to Leh and held it for a few weeks. But they were driven out by Moslems; and, ever since, Ladakh has been politically a part of Kashmir. But in 1951 and 1952 Ladakh was insisting that it be a federated state in Kashmir, having the same relation to Kashmir as Kashmir has to India. In that way Ladakh would retain home rule.

Ladakh still has a king. I met him at Leh. He is a slight, wiry chap in his twenties and at present is an officer in the Indian Army. He still has a palace; he is still king in name; and his wife, the Queen owns the most beautiful, the most expensive *perakh* in Ladakh. But their titles and rank are titular only and have been for a century.

The lands are rented by the monasteries under various tenancy systems:

(1) The landlord furnishes the seed and gets in return three

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the Mongols. The Mongols always came to India to plunder, not to rule. The Moslems, who were Aryans, first came to India to propagate their faith in the ninth century. They took over the rule of India in the twelfth century. And so it was that the Maharajah of Kashmir, militant in his faith and with an eye to its propagation, agreed to drive the Mongols from Ladakh on one condition. The condition was that he be allowed to build a mosque at Leh. He pointed out that many of his faith followed the caravan route from Srinagar to Leh to Yarkand and yet had no holy place during their long absences from Kashmir where they could pray to Allah. The King of Ladakh, more intolerant of the Tartar invader than the Moslem proselytizer, agreed to the condition. The mosque has thrived ever since.

The castle of the King of Ladakh, like the King himself, has not thrived. It stands on a cliff behind the mosque and towers over the town. It rises many stories, like an awkward skyscraper. Once it was a place of splendor. Here visiting royalty was entertained and feasts were spread. It was to this castle that emissaries from the various princes of Ladakh sped with payments of taxes and promises of fealty. It was in this castle that the kings of Ladakh made their compacts with lamas and so, through the use of spiritual power, welded together into a compact political unit the eight principalities of Ladakh.

The lamas still thrive. Their monasteries now hold the great wealth that this castle once commanded. The lamas utilized their spiritual power to acquire temporal strength. In the end, they surpassed the temporal power that gave them their freedom. The castle of the King of Ladakh, to be sure, still stands. But it is today empty—filled with cobwebs, bats, and the memories of an ancient power that events have transferred to other hands.

The law of Ladakh, administered by the ancient kings, had all the cruelty of our own early system. Ladakh knew trial by ordeal. It was resorted to when the evidence was unsatisfactory, when the judge with his human limitations needed supernatural wis-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

promising to send tribute to Lhasa. Thus even to-day the anomaly exists that Ladak, though subject to the Maharajah of Kashmir, yet has to send a kind of tribute to Lhasa, of which more anon.

The final fall of the Western Tibetan Empire occurred about the year 1840, when the Sikhs with the help of the Rajah of Jammu had conquered Kashmir, and the latter, wishing to enlarge his borders sent his general, Sorowar, to conquer Ladak. It would take us too long to follow this general in all his campaigns ; suffice it to say he was uniformly successful in bringing the country into subjection as much by his wise statesmanship as by his good generalship.

Thus it comes about that Ladak and Baltistan have become dependencies of the Kashmir State, over which his Highness, the Maharajah, Sir Hari Singh, now rules. His interests here are looked after by the Wazir of Ladak, who spends the summer in Leh and the winter in Skardu, the capital of Baltistan, and may be regarded as the Kashmir Joint Commissioner, whereas his Majesty, the Emperor of India, is represented by the British Joint Commissioner, who spends about three months here in the summer, and the rest of the year resides in Srinagar as one of the assistants to the British Resident there. The chief duties of the latter are to look after things pertaining to the " Treaty Road " and to watch over the interests of foreigners in Ladak, whether they be Europeans, Yarkandis or Central Tibetans. During the absence of both these officials in winter, the highest authority in Leh is vested in the chief Magistrate or Tehsildar, whose Tehsil or area of jurisdiction extends as far as Botkharbu, where that of his colleague at Kargil begins. A third Tehsil also exists at Skardu. These Tehsildars are, of course, servants of the State of Kashmir, so also is the Naib (or Sub-Tehsildar). The State Dispensary with its Sub-Assistant Surgeon, the Telegraph office with its " Babu " in charge, are also State services, but the Post Office is Imperial, and the

13: Heber and Heber D-8 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER VIII

Into Zankskar

631 ZANGLA is the capital of a small province of Zankskar, consisting of only seven villages, which were presented to a former King in reward for aid rendered to Zorowar, the Dogra general, on his way through to the conquest of Ladak.

643 797 576 We were heartily welcomed by the King, who is also a *Skushog*, and who allowed us to put up our tents in his private garden. That evening, when requiring a place in which to show our lantern slides, a fine large room in the castle was put at our disposal ; the majority of the villagers came to the entertainment, and his Majesty also honoured the performance, sitting on a chair, of which he possessed two, placed among his subjects, who squatted on the floor around.

466 482 Next morning quite a concourse of men had gathered to carry our luggage. Some of our loads were naturally lighter than others, but in Zangla everything is done in an orderly fashion. A young fellow, perhaps the only layman of the village who can read, has a small bundle of sticks, on one of which each male villager has his name written. The ones representing those whose turn it is to carry to-day are picked out and placed at haphazard on the various bundles. Each man finds his own name-stick, and without demur shoulders the load which the god of fortune has sent him.

In the province of Bashahr things are not quite so nicely arranged, for when it comes to the casting of lots, each man fetches a stick for himself, but if he happens later to find that

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

horologist, and, the day before, this strange ship of the wilderness is erected in the desert just outside Leh.

At about 3 p.m. we wend our way through the bazar, now crowded with folk in holiday mood and holiday attire, and take up our position in the small room built over the toll-gate giving admission to the capital, and underneath which, the procession will pass. The firing of a gun announces that it has left the castle and is descending the hill, and soon we descry it turning into the further end of the main street, near the large Mohammedan mosque. Slowly it approaches us to the droning of shawms, the blowing of trumpets, clanging of cymbals, and beating of drums, all of which go to make up ecclesiastical music. Let us watch them as they pass beneath us. Heading the procession come four lamas in their clerical red garments, and with their funny yellow, peaked hats. These are blowing their flageolets ; after an interval they are followed by two or three laymen, who have the supposed honour of being allowed to carry the *storma*, but one cannot help noticing that the *élite* do not trouble to obtain this distinction for themselves. *Storma* means a thing which is lost, and consists of effigies made in various sizes to represent men and demons. Again comes a group of lamas, dressed up in their fantastic devil-masks, and dancing as they move along. More laymen follow, bearing religious flags, and then there come four priests, blowing shawms so long that two small acolytes precede them, holding up the ends. Thus group after group passes through the gate till the celebrating abbot appears, to be followed by further priests and laymen carrying *storma*. Bringing up the rear are a number of Buddhist horsemen, prominent among them the King. He wears for this ceremony a special hat, which is an imitation of King Langdarma's, from whom he claims descent and of whom he is said to be an incarnation. Langdarma belonged to the old *Bon Chos*, and did his best to exterminate Buddhism in Tibet, positive proof of his demoniacal nature, of which

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XIX

Rajahs & Royalties

ALTHOUGH the glory has departed from the present scion of a long line of rulers, yet we must speak of the King, who, although only an ex-ex-King, is still regarded by the true Ladaki as his sovereign lord, for as he walks along the road, his subjects bare their heads and bend low, whilst he touches them in blessing, for not only is he king, but priest also.

Let us, however, begin at the beginning and speak first of a dynasty of true Ladaki Kings, for although the present line has reigned for well-nigh a thousand years, yet even they are interlopers from the Central Tibetan Kingdom. In the monastery of Lamayuru, there is a record telling of how the upper part of the Indus valley was uninhabited desert, whilst in the lower dwelt the "Brogpas," who were continually fighting one another. At that time the site on which Lamayuru now stands was a lake, proof of which we still have to-day in the large lacustrine deposits to be found there. It was just before the time of the Buddhist reformer, Atisa, that the great King Khri dPon bHag rDar Skyabs ruled, his kingdom extending from the Zogi La to the Kardong, and his son enlarged this territory by adding villages in Kashmir and a part of Lahoul. This line of kings did much to civilize the country, and was the first to introduce Buddhism. It is regrettable that more is not known of these rulers. How their power waned and the Lha Chen dynasty from Central Tibet usurped their power has still to be elucidated. The

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

773 slung a stone at him, but missed, for the horse had got behind a rock. The steed then said to his master, "Oh thou with the big head without brains, thou donkey without long ears, thou ox without horns, look at my sore back! How can I carry you? But quickly take the lancet placed by my good queen Bruguma in my left ear, and cut out my sores, then wash them with the lotion in my right ear, and I will get well immediately and bear you back to Ling." No sooner said than done, and they returned. Kesar re-conquered the country, liberated his Queen and her sons, and they lived happily ever after.

643 775 Thus runs the story, and to-day we have in Ladak two representatives of this hero King, for Kesar is re-incarnated in both father and son, Kings of Ladak. The question may be asked how the young King can be a re-incarnation of King Kesar during the lifetime of his father who is also a re-incarnation of the same? This is perfectly easy to explain, for Kesar appeared in many disguises, and they are incarnations of two of these. In like manner, the Queen Mother and the reigning Queen, both living, are each a re-incarnation of one goddess, the White Tara. In the case of the two Kings we have definite proof of this fact, for they have both of them a squint, although the son has only acquired his after years of practice. It would seem strange in most countries for the son to be reigning while his father is still alive, but, in this back-to-front country, the heir-apparent, on reaching manhood, has for long been made co-ruler with his father. At the present time they have gone a step further, for the Father King has retired to a hermitage, where he tells his beads, says his *Ommanis*, and prepares himself for his next incarnation. The coronation of the present King took place soon after we arrived in Leh, and all the missionaries and their children were invited to be present at the ceremony. So on the morning of the coronation day we were requested to send up the chairs on which we were to sit. The Tibetan word for a chair, by the way, is *Khriushing*, which means a wooden

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

throne, so that we also were enthroned, but not on a raised platform. Although it was still winter, the afternoon sun was extraordinarily hot, as we toiled up the hill on which stands the castle, above the tiers of houses which form the chief part of Leh. This is a fine building, erected some three hundred years ago. It consists of nine storeys, and is built of stone and mudbricks. So high is it that the walls have had to be built with a slight slope inwards to keep them from bulging out. The roof is perfectly flat with a balustrade running all round. When the King or *Skushog* is in Leh, a band of lamas with shawms and trumpets stand at the edge of this to salute them, and make a charming picture outlined against the sky.

We entered under the porch, gaudily decorated with many colours. Above us, and on each side were gargoyles, which it was formerly possible to propel outwards and thus frighten the King's enemies. We walked along a dark passage, and up a flight of rude stone steps. This took us past the Royal Temple, in which are a few images, and a small library which could no doubt tell us a good deal about former kings who ruled here, but what we noticed most was a large heap of black leaves, inscribed with golden letters, which have been thrown on the floor in an untidy heap. They were placed there by the Dogra conquerors, and nobody has ever taken the trouble to sort them. Our way then ascended a rough wooden stairway, and, we eventually entered a large room. This was now filled with many people of high and low degree. In a corner a platform was raised about four feet above the people, and on it were enthroned the Incarnation of Hemis with the young King on his left. We were given seats in front, and had a plate of food placed before us. Hardly had the last member of our party been served, when a leading Ladaki came to us, thanked us in the politest and most elegant language he could command for the trouble we had taken in coming up to the castle on such a hot day, and hinted that we

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

643 might wish to be busy elsewhere. Understanding that they would prefer our room to our company, we again wended our way down the hill. During our short stay in the room of enthronement, no ceremonies whatever were performed, and no word was spoken. There sat the *Skushog* and the new King like two graven images. We asked them what they did to crown their King, and they replied that he was allowed to sit on a throne as high as that of the *Shushog*. But we could not help feeling that the haste with which they got rid of us indicated that we were not to see the real ritual, as the influence of our Occidental presences would not be auspicious, yet we appreciated the friendly spirit which did not wish to omit us entirely from their important celebrations.

643 574 The Royal ladies, too, have always given a welcome to visitors from Western lands, whether it be the missionary "Memsahibs," who live in Leh all the year round, or the summer travellers who may be taken to pay their respects to the reigning house at Stog.

When the family come to Leh for their winter visit, their presence being necessary at the great festivals of the New Year and *Dosmoche*, we usually go up to the castle to pay them a call. We first inquire if it would be convenient for us to come on a given afternoon, sending a present of a cabbage, turnip or some potatoes, all of which are real luxuries in this part of the world, and hardly-grown at all outside our own and the Commissioner's compounds. The time having been fixed, we are led into the sitting-room of the two Queens, and take our seats near them on nice Tibetan rugs, well-padded underneath. The little princesses, aged about two and seven on the last occasion, were very interested in the foreign ladies and the baby especially was delighted at receiving a rubber doll with a squeak. Butter-tea, of course, was served, and a special brand of sweet shortbread made in the royal household provided. Once when we went down to Kashmir, the old Queen Mother kindly sent over a dozen of these, wrapped in a

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

643 574 bit of Indian newspaper to help us on the road, while her daughter-in-law sent a request for some mercury (called in Tibetan "silver water") for what purpose we could not gather, and also asked if we could refill for her a bottle of scented hair oil. Once the two Queens repaid our winter call, and came to visit us in the compound. In the morning they sent down to know if we would kindly provide a magic lantern show by way of an entertainment, for they knew the Mission possessed such an instrument, but in the Doctor's house we had other resources, for a Christmas tree had been made for the children, and we had this illuminated for our visitors. Removing all central furniture, we arranged little tables in front of small rugs and mats round the room, and, what with the ladies-in-waiting and attendant lamas, every place was filled, and our small room soon needed airing. On the tables we could only provide dry food, such as apricots, sugar, sweets, walnuts and sultanas, for they would not partake of anything we had cooked, and with our gramophone to entertain them, our guests seemed to enjoy their evening. We had to explain carefully of course, that the lighted Christmas tree was not an object of worship, but put up for the children's pleasure, while our Christian Hospital nurse briefly told our Christmas story as illustrated by little picture cards hung from the tree. But perhaps the greatest thrill of the evening was a tour of the sahib's house, where the bed-rooms and kitchen, and the baby sleeping quietly alone in the dark, caused the greatest interest.

643 644 The castle of Leh, however, is not the usual abode of their Majesties, the King is in residence there only during the first Buddhist month of the year, and on other special occasions, and when the waters of the village where he resides in summer are all frozen, and must be melted before using. At other times he has his quarters in the castle of Stog, which lies a three hours' ride from Leh on the opposite side of the Indus.

643 651 When Zorowar conquered the great-grandfather of the present young King, he banished him there, and since then Stog is

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

643 651 644 [778] 643 574 [593] 643 793 [791] 788 792 [784]

the only village from which he is allowed to take the revenue. His whole income has been computed at about Rs4000, approximately £260 per annum, which leaves little margin to one who is still supposed to entertain on a royal scale. His castle stands on the side of the hill ending a spur from the main range ; it is entered through a court-yard, through which, up various steps, we reach a large room—the royal living room. In one corner is the King's altar, next to that a bed with bedding rolled up. This is where his Majesty seeks repose, while his Queen and his Mother sleep on the floor. We are received by the King, who shakes both our hands. The two ladies, too, give us a hearty welcome, first the elder, whose cataract we had extracted some years ago, and then the younger. We are requested to sit on rugs spread on the floor, and soon have various Ladaki dishes placed before us, most of them very tasty, even to Western appetites, although we can hardly include the butter-tea in this category. Conversation flows easily, for there is much to say and many questions to ask and answer. Among other things the reigning Queen informs us that her husband has no head for figures, so that she has to be the business manager, and she certainly looked capable of seeing to the temporal affairs of the realm. When it comes to those of a spiritual nature, however, his lady has to leave the leadership to him, and the number of his ecclesiatical responsibilities is quite considerable. Before the New Year, the horologist has to tell him of dangers to come, and to advise him what scriptures must be read to avoid them. Every month, for six days at least, the lamas must read *chos* (religion), and must be fed with two pots of tea, soup containing wheaten flour, two earther ware pots of beer, twenty measures of parched barley-flour, besides one pound of butter to decorate the offerings which are made of barley-flour, and ¼ lb. of oil for their lamps. On the 15th and 18th of every month, no meat may be eaten, or the *lhus* (spirits of the underworld) will be annoyed. From

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the 25th of the tenth month till the 3rd of the eleventh month, eight lamas from Hemis have to come to read services for the stabilization of his throne. One cannot help thinking that these must have become slack in their devotions! At other times the gods of peace and war have to be propitiated by further reading. By the time all these ceremonies have been performed, there cannot be many days on which the lamas have not to be rewarded for services rendered, and—all on about Rs4,000 per annum.

Then he himself has his matins and evensong to read. Even before the family has risen he must get up and read his *chos*, and after they have retired he has to perform more ceremonies.

So pass the days of this monarch; little of interest occurs in his life, which is filled up with a monotonous round of senseless readings of holy books, which neither he, nor those who read, try to understand. The word "Ichabod" might indeed be written over the house of Namrgyal.

Although the Rajah of Stog, as he is termed, is the chief ruler in this country, there are other royalties of minor importance, thus the "King of Marshro" has but one village under his sway. His eldest son will rule in his stead one day, whilst the powers which decide in what bodies *Skushogs* reincarnate have fortunately discovered in his younger son, the new Bacola, the *Spitug Skushog*.

In Zankskar we have already met a King, who is also a *Skushog*, in fact, he is prouder of his priestly office than of his royal rank, and stranger still is the custom of that country, where the heir apparent to the throne is the second son and not the eldest, who becomes a proper lama.

Whilst we were in Padam, the capital of Zankskar, a poor old gentleman called on us in our tents with a few dried apricots and some candy sugar. After some time we found that he was the real scion of the royal house of Zankskar, but his ancestor had lost his crown by trying to oppose Zorowar,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

order, so that he might thereby "help blind Buddhists to get their sight." Hence the board outside, declaring it to be "the Raspa Operating Theatre." He himself once came for a temporary stopping to be put into two of his teeth, one of which still remains after seven years. During his time of retirement up the hillside, he also read through our Christian New Testament, as translated into Tibetan, and when he first visited our house, his attention was attracted by a picture of the Last Supper, and he at once asked which was the Apostle John. He can write a good hand in English, and we believe understands far more of the spoken language than he allows to appear. He is the special abbot of the royal family of Leh, and whenever he comes from his monastery, some twenty-three miles away, to make a short stay in his town house at Leh, lamas appear on the roof of the castle to salute him with their long shawms and flageolets. Throughout the whole of his stay, salutations are played in the evening after sunset, when the long boom of the large instruments and the plaintive tones of the smaller ones are particularly pleasing, as they steal through the quiet after the close of day, and also during the early hours of the morning. For this latter réveillé I fear the lamas have no clock, for in summer it seems to take place at any time between two and five a.m., sometimes long before sunrise.

Approaching Leh from the direction of Hemis, a hill suddenly rears itself in the middle of the valley, surmounting which is a monastery, that of Stagna. The head lama of this monastery we first saw at the Hemis festival in 1925; he was then a little boy of six, and we shall refer to him later in the description of that event. He belongs to a special sect, whose name denotes their pale yellow caps, and who are mostly congregated in Spitti.

On another commanding position, and seen from as far up the Indus valley almost as Stagna, is the *dGonpa* of Trigtse, perched on the top of a hill, which marks the end of a spur of

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

baby antics, mimicry of the dancers, and enjoyment of the tamasha, till finally we met his diminutive Holiness being carried off in his lama's arms down the steps to bed, still full of beans, and turning from a blessing he was instructed to give to a bowing worshipper to look back at the strange MemSahib, and lift his hand to his forehead saying "zhu" to her.

Now we must turn our attention to the ceremonies and first endeavour to present their strangely fascinating setting. The European visitors are asked kindly to bring their own chairs, which are placed in a row on a covered balcony one storey above the court-yard and facing the main buildings of the monastery. These are four storeys high, the upper ones having a series of verandahs, each adorned across the top with a valance, in which the *élite* of the country sit. One of the upper ones belongs to the *Skushog's* own private rooms, and only himself, the old ex-King, who is now leading a priestly life as a hermit in a neighbouring nullah, and one or two high-born gentlemen appear in it. A large cloth is hung over it, so that their privacy may be maintained when desirable, but, during the performances, the old King is seen in full view, while the dark-blue spectacled eyes and clean-shaven and shorn face and head of the *Skushog* frequently appear under a raised corner. In the adjacent anterooms sit other honoured guests, while the lower storey balconies seem reserved for ladies, for many widely-turquoised *perags* are seen from time to time. Placed on the roof at intervals are sticks supporting yak's tails, three-skirted umbrella-like structures, and others made of yak's wool. At the left-hand corner of the court-yard a wide flight of nine steps leads up to the main door on the first storey, and this throughout provides a centre of unceasing fascination. Not only do the actors enter and depart up and down these steps, but the whole time they are peopled by lamas ascending and descending, sitting and standing, a most wonderful kaleidoscope of red, the extraordinary thing being,

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

corrupted from *lal*, ruby, it having been the ruby in the crown of the old Ladakhi kings. *Dosmoche* and *ne[illegible]g* are both non-buddhist festivals. Although the *klu's* or water-snakes have nothing to do with them, they are Bon festivals, but attended by many buddhist priests and laymen. All evil spirits of the winter are driven into a cake, which is burnt outside the village. In Leh the fetish is formed of *mdosmo's*, see Jäschke's dictionary. In Mashro it is a black one. According to a different derivation this festival is called 'the black one' on account of the black coat of *Langdarma's* murderer whose deed is praised then.

5. (*a*) དཔེ་ཐུག་གི་དགུ་གཏོར་དང་ལུག་ཁོག་ཟམ།

(*b*) spithŭggi rgu'stor dang lug' khog zam'.

(*c*) At the time of the *rgustor* festival at *Spithug* [the heat] is like a sheep.

(*d*) Often said instead of the former.

(*e*) The name of the village Spithŭg is said to have been formerly *dpethug*, 'the arrived at likeness." The monastery of Spithŭg was built after the picture of a famous monastery in Lhassa. *Rgustor* is a *Comp. determ.* composed of *nyergu* = 29 and *storma*, offering. The devils are urged to enter a large cake, offered to them and the cake is burned outside the village. 29 is the date of the festival.

6. (*a*) ས་ལ་སྐྱ་རེ་སྔོ་རེ། མི་ལ་སྐྱིད་རེ་སྡུག་རེ།

(*b*) sa'la skya're sngo're mi'la skyid're, dŭg're.

(*c*) On the ground [it is] alternately grey and green, with man [there is] one turn fortunate, one turn unfortunate.

(*d*) See 1 (*d*).

(*e*) In Ladakhi a single *re* has often the meaning of some, for instance *lorela*, in some years. Here *re* forms *Composita* with *skyabo*, *sngonpo*, etc.

7. (*a*) ཁ་ལ་སྐྱོང་དུ་འཁོར་དུས།
ཅི་གོན་འབྲུད་དེ་ཅི་ཟ་ཡི་དུས།།

(*b*) kha' ran'gu khor'dus, ci' gonbud'de, ci' zā dus'.

595 shall try to show why in some cases
121 polyandry is fraternal, and in others non-fraternal.

162 The province of Ladak, which I visited,
197 is inhabited by Tibetans speaking an
793 ancient form of the language. Tibet, of
643 course, is run by the Lamaist church and
361 the head of the country is the Dalai Lama.
341 The former kings of Tibet have taken
131 refuge in Ladak since the 8th century A. D.
175 and live in the castle of Leh. The town is very characteristic of Tibetan towns. Flat-roofed houses are very well built on the side of high mountains. The altitude is 12,000 feet, the entire area is snowed in
[512] during the winter, and the people live mostly in their houses and do not go out.

164 These Tibetan houses are not very dif-
123 ferent from our own western type of
354 houses, except in one respect. The kitchen here has no chimney, so it can be imagined how much smoke fills the room when they cook. The Tibetans do not seem to mind; though we personally found it very difficult to stand upright in their kitchens when they were cooking and so spent most of our time there on all fours, to avoid the smoke and keep our eyes from watering. The people suffer from eye trouble because of this practice and yet they seem to stick to it in a very curious manner.

291 The characteristic dress of the Ladak
301 women is of red cloth such as the men
523 wear. They have a sheepskin toga which they throw over their shoulders and a very
428 characteristic head-dress, made of a piece of red felt with two enormous ears of black wool. The red felt band is studded with turquoises at the back, family heirlooms, handed down from mother to daughter. Such a headdress is known as a *perak*.

291 The men are tough-looking. They very
857 often have their right shoulders bare; though sometimes they have a Chinese shirt thrown over them. When they are working, they usually have the right shoulder uncovered, however cold the weather may be. Looking at Tibetan children, one could imagine at first sight

241 [231] [262] range, the crops often fail for lack of sun-warmth. Ploughing is chiefly done by the hybrid of the yak bull and the common cow, known as *zo* (male) or *zomo* (female). This animal is also used for transport purposes. Grazing is limited, and consequently the number of live-stock is not large, but there are a fair number of ponies, those from Zāskār being famous. The food of the Ladākhis is the meal of *grim*, made into a broth and drunk warm, or else into a dough and eaten with buttermilk. The Ladākhis have no prejudices, and will eat anything they can get.

135 **Minerals.** Borax is produced in Rupshu, and salt is found. About 1,436 maunds of borax are annually extracted, but the industry is profitable neither to the people nor to the State. In former days sulphur, saltpetre, and iron were manufactured in factories at Leh, but the scarcity of fuel has now rendered these industries impossible.

286 **Manufactures.** Practically the only manufacture is that of woollen cloth, known as *pattū* and *pashmīna*.

439 **Commerce and trade.** The people trade in agricultural products with the Champas of Tibet and with Skārdu. Salt is largely exported to Skārdu, and in a less degree to Kashmīr, and is exchanged for grain, apricots, tobacco, madder, and ponies. The chief commerce is the Central Asian trade between Yārkand and India.

631 643 [691] [704] **Administration, &c.** Ladākh is in the charge of a Wazīr Wazārat, who is responsible for Baltistān and the three *tahsīls* of Ladākh, Kargil, and Skārdu. His duties are light. There is little crime and scarcely any litigation. The chief cases are disputes regarding trees, or complaints that one villager has stolen the surface soil of another. No police force is maintained, but a small garrison of State troops is quartered in the fort at Leh, a building with mud walls. The Wazīr Wazārat and his establishment cost the State Rs. 9,166 per annum. One of the chief functions of the Wazīr is the supervision of the Central Asian trade which passes through Leh. For this purpose he is *ex officio* Joint Commissioner, associated with a British officer appointed by the Indian Government. Each subdivision of Ladākh is in the charge of a *kārdār* who is a Bhot. His chief duties are to see that all reasonable assistance is rendered to the Central Asian traders and travellers. For this purpose the villages of each *kārdāri* are made responsible for furnishing baggage animals and supplies in turn, and according to the capacity of each village to the stages situated within the limits of the *kārdāri*. This is known as the *reis* system. Primary schools are maintained at Skārdu and Leh.

[439] [648] [624] [651] [872]